

Who is driving chaos in L.A.?

Violence flares up during protests, but the real troublemakers may be neither protesters nor police.

BY MATTHEW ORMSETH AND JAMES QUEALLY

The crowd near Los Angeles City Hall had by Sunday evening reached an uneasy detente with a line of grim-faced police officers. The LAPD officers gripped "less lethal" riot guns, which fire foam rounds that leave red welts and ugly bruises on anyone they hit. Demonstrators massed in downtown Los Angeles for the third straight day. Some were there to protest federal immigration sweeps across the county — others appeared set on wreaking havoc.

Several young men crept through the crowd, hunched over and hiding something in their hands. They reached the front line and hurled eggs at the officers, who fired into the fleeing crowd with riot guns.

Jonas March, who was filming the protests as an independent journalist, dropped to the ground and tried to army-crawl away. "As soon as I stood up, they shot me in the a—," the 21-year-old said.

Police Chief Jim McDonnell has drawn a distinction between protesters and masked "anarchists" who, he said, were bent on exploiting the state of unrest to [See Instigators, A10]

Not a 'war zone'

The Times separates fact from fiction concerning the immigration raids. PERSPECTIVES, A2

LAUSD responds

School police will be deployed to shield students and their families from ICE. CALIFORNIA, B1

Odd TV moment

Presence of Dr. Phil in L.A. should raise alarms, Mary McNamara writes. ENTERTAINMENT, E1



MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times



JASON ARMOND Los Angeles Times

PROTESTERS CONTINUE to clash with the LAPD in downtown L.A. amid federal immigration raids. Some rowdy crowds have vandalized and burglarized buildings, and the Trump administration has deployed troops.



CARLIN STIEHL Los Angeles Times



MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times

Sending Marines brings peril, questions

BY JENNY JARVIE AND GRACE TOOHEY

After days of fiery protest against federal immigration raids, Los Angeles residents and officials braced for the arrival of hundreds of U.S. Marines on Tuesday in what some called an unprecedented and potentially explosive deployment of active-duty troops with hazy mission objectives.

As Trump administration officials vowed to crack down on "rioters, looters and thugs," state local officials decried the mobilization of 700 troops from the Marine Corps Air Ground Combat Center in Twentynine Palms, calling it a clear violation of law and civility. L.A. Mayor Karen Bass even likened the deployment to "an experiment" that nobody asked to be a part of.

According to the U.S. Northern Command, which oversees troops based in the United States, the Marines will join "seamlessly" with National Guard troops under "Task Force 51" — the military's designation of the Los Angeles forces.

Air Force Gen. Gregory Guillot told The Times on Tuesday that the troops are [See Marines, A9]

Deploying troops trained to fight in overseas conflicts to confront protesters on American soil is cause for concern, military experts say



GINA FERAZZI Los Angeles Times

ONE OF the vehicles in the Marine convoy that left the Twentynine Palms base.

Troop arrival adds to local tension

Law enforcement sources say that coordination between police and the feds has been limited.

BY HANNAH FRY, REBECCA ELLIS, RICHARD WINTON, NATHAN SOLIS AND NOAH GOLDBERG

U.S. Marines arrived in Los Angeles on Tuesday amid growing concerns about a lack of coordination and communication between local police and the federal forces.

The Trump administration has vowed to send 4,000 National Guard troops and 700 Marines to Los Angeles to protect immigration agents and federal buildings from protests, some of which have turned violent. But there remains something of a mystery about exactly where the forces are being stationed and exactly what they will do.

Local law enforcement sources said coordination between police and the feds has been limited, a distinct contrast to other times troops have hit the streets of L.A. including in 2020 during George Floyd demonstrations and amid the 1992 riots. Such a large federal force has raised eyebrows because most of the clashes have occurred in a relatively small part of downtown Los Angeles as opposed to scattered across the city. L.A. police commanders have at times felt stretched as they deal with rowdy crowds at night that vandalize and steal from buildings, the sources said, but they believe local authorities are much better equipped to bring order than outside forces.

Police stepped up arrests Monday night and sources said officials are considering a nightly curfew in some parts of downtown.

"The possible arrival of federal military forces in Los [See Protests, A8]

'Cali' a 4-letter word in Vietnam

A reference to diaspora in the U.S. becomes a slur amid rising nationalism in Southeast Asian country

BY STEPHANIE YANG

HANOI — Last fall, Vietnam opened a sprawling new military museum here, and among thousands of artifacts in the four-story building and a courtyard filled with tanks and aircraft, one exhibit quickly be-



The 'tremendous heartache' of being Jewish on campus

In wake of last year's protests, students and faculty weigh in on Trump's campaign against antisemitism.

BY DANIEL MILLER

as hostages.

Wallack, who is Jewish, said she had to "escape."

"I freaked out, and I ran out of class and started sobbing," said Wallack, 23. "It felt like everyone was against me, which I know is not so accurate. But I just remember sitting in my class,

A push to grow wildland access

New bill would expand a Santa Monica Mountains area, but funding cuts could thwart it. CALIFORNIA, B1

Funk pioneer's enduring legacy

Music innovator Sly Stone, leader of the group Sly and the Family Stone, dies at 82. ENTERTAINMENT, E1

World Cup plans are complicated

Visa issues amid travel

Military confirms Marines are in Greater L.A.

[Marines, from A1]
in Los Angeles only to defend federal property and federal personnel and do not have arrest power.

"They are not law enforcement officers, and they do not have the authority to make arrests," Guillot said. "There are very unique situations where they could detain someone if detaining was necessary to defend, but they could only detain that person long enough to hand it off to a proper law enforcement official."

"We're very highly trained, professional and disciplined," he said.

But military experts have raised practical concerns about the unclear parameters of the Marines' objective. They also warn that sending in Marines without a request from a governor — a highly unusual step that has not been made since the civil rights era in 1965 — could potentially inflame the situation.

U.S. Marines are trained for overseas conflict zones, with deployments in recent decades in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan. But the roles they play in those nations — including providing artillery support to coalition forces fighting against Islamic State militants and advising and training local security forces in Afghanistan — are quite different from what they might face as they confront American protesters in Los Angeles.

"Marines are trained to fight, that's the first thing they're trained to do," said Jennifer Kavanagh, director of military analysis at Defense Priorities, a military research group. "So I think you do have a little bit of mismatch in skills here...."

"In a crisis, when they're forced to make a snap decision, do they have enough training and experience to make the one that de-escalates the situation rather than escalates it? I think that's a question mark."

President Trump told U.S. Army troops at Ft. Bragg in North Carolina on Tuesday — hours after Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth told congressional lawmakers that the mobili-



GINA FERRAZZI Los Angeles Times

A CONVOY of Marine vehicles from Twentynine Palms is seen on Highway 10 near Whitewater, headed west.

zation of troops to Los Angeles to curtail protests would cost \$134 million — that he deployed thousands of National Guard troops and hundreds of Marines "to protect federal law enforcement from the attacks of a vicious and violent mob."

But city and state officials have repeatedly said that troops are not necessary to contain the protests. On Monday, California Gov. Gavin Newsom called the deployment of Marines "a blatant abuse of power" and filed a lawsuit seeking to overturn the deployment.

Los Angeles Police Chief Jim McDonnell warned that — "absent clear coordination" — the prospect of Marines descending on Los Angeles "presents a significant logistical and operational challenge for those of us charged with safeguarding

this city."

It remains unclear exactly when and where Marines would arrive in Los Angeles.

By Tuesday afternoon, a convoy of Marine vehicles from Twentynine Palms had arrived at Orange County's Naval Weapons Station Seal Beach under police escort.

"The Marines are on the base," said Lt. Chris Hendrix of the Seal Beach Police Department. "That started last night."

Northern Command confirmed only that members of the 2nd Battalion, 7th Marines had arrived in the Greater L.A. area, and declined to give specific information.

It is rare for U.S. Marines to be sent to an American city. The last time they were deployed in the U.S. was after riots broke out in Los An-

geles in 1992 after the acquittal of four LAPD officers who were recorded beating a Black motorist, Rodney G. King.

Back then, President George H.W. Bush acted at the request of California Gov. Pete Wilson and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley after what The Times described as "three days of the worst urban unrest in Los Angeles history."

Deploying Marines to L.A. is not only a dramatic escalation of events but also potentially illegal, according to Abigail Hall, a defense scholar and senior fellow at the Independent Institute, a nonprofit think tank based in Oakland.

Bringing in the Marines to L.A., she said, violates the Posse Comitatus Act, an 1878 law enacted after the Civil War, which forbids ac-

tive-duty federal forces to provide regular civilian law enforcement unless authorized by Congress or the president invokes the Insurrection Act.

Trump has yet to invoke the Insurrection Act.

"I don't see any way that this is not a direct violation of the Posse Comitatus Act," Hall said. "We're not at war, we've not invoked the Insurrection Act of 1807 — and even if we did, that's what the National Guard is for. It's not what the Marines are for."

Gregory Magarian, a law professor at Washington University in St. Louis, said that deploying active-duty troops in a domestic law enforcement setting — without the request or even consent of the state and local officials — is "just another step down a very dangerous road."

"What are they going to use these troops for?" Magarian asked. "In order to use the federal forces for law enforcement purposes, particularly the active-duty military, Trump would need to invoke the Insurrection Act. That's the next big line in the sand. If he invokes the Insurrection Act, that's worse. That's a really huge problem."

Kavanagh didn't comment on the deployment's legality but called it unprecedented in modern times, and worried that could make its mission and parameters unclear for troops.

The last time the military was deployed without a governor's request or approval, military experts said, was to facilitate desegregation in Southern states during the civil rights movement in the 1960s.

Kori Schake, senior fellow and director of foreign and defense policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute, said the Trump administration appeared to be trying out a new way to get around the restrictions on domestic law enforcement by the American military.

"The authority the president is claiming is his constitutional authority under what's called the Take Care clause ... he's claiming the federal responsibility to protect federal agents and federal property operations. That authority has never been tested in court."

Such an approach, Schake said, was fraught with more than legal risk.

"If violence burgeons, tempers are running high, the Marines are armed, this could spiral out of control," Schake said.

The L.A. deployment, Kavanagh said, could be a jarring mission for Marines who signed up to go abroad and defend America's freedom — and instead are facing off with fellow citizens.

"Does everyone know the rules of engagement?" Kavanagh asked of the L.A. mission. "Are they clear?"

Times staff writers Hayley Smith and Christopher Buchanan contributed to this report.



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Local police confident in ability to bring order

[Protests, from A1]

Angeles — absent clear coordination — presents a significant logistical and operational challenge for those of us tasked with safeguarding this city," L.A. Police Chief Jim McDonnell said. "The Los Angeles Police Department, alongside our mutual aid partners, have decades of experience managing public demonstrations, and we remain confident in our ability to do so effectively and professionally."

Local police have long vowed not to be involved in immigration enforcement activities. So they have little readout about where the actions are taking place.

"We never know when, we never know how long," L.A. Mayor Karen Bass said of the raids during a news conference on Tuesday. "But that very notion creates such a terrible sense of fear in our city, and it's just not right to do that to a population who's trying to survive."

Up to now, the LAPD, L.A. County Sheriff's Department and local law enforcement agencies have dealt with street protests, a task for which officers received extensive training. National Guard troops have been seen protecting federal buildings. But Trump administration officials have repeatedly threatened to have troops take a more active role in policing during protests.

Homeland Security Secretary Kristi Noem on Sunday wrote a memo to Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth urging military forces to arrest civilians during L.A. protests, according to reporting by the San Francisco Chronicle and CBS News.

Adding to the confusion, a top military official told The Times on Tuesday that the Marines would have no arrest power; they would only be involved in building protection.

Trump and other administration officials have repeatedly said erroneously that large parts of Los Angeles have been hit by violence and unrest.

"They're not a city of immigrants, they're a city of criminals," Noem told Fox News.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement officials said hundreds of people have been taken into custody during the raids since Friday. But it's not clear exactly how many people have been arrested. An immigrants rights leader in Los Angeles said about 300 people have been detained by federal authorities in California since sweeps began last week.

Angelica Salas, director of the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles, said her group used interviews with family mem-



A CAR burns on East 3rd Street as demonstrators clash with the LAPD in downtown Los Angeles on Monday.



PROTESTERS dance in the street as the LAPD attempts to surround the crowd.

bers, conversations with elected officials and direct reporting from the ground to confirm detentions.

"Our communities are being terrorized. We're in a state of terror. People are outraged at what's happening," she told the Los Angeles City Council on Tuesday.

"I have never seen anything like this," added Salas, who has worked in immigrant rights for 30 years.

Bass and other officials argue Trump is trying to sow violence with the raids and deployment of the National

Guard.

"I feel like we've all been in Los Angeles a part of a grand experiment to see what happens when the federal government decides they want to roll up on a state or roll up on a city and take over," she added.

There have been intense but isolated clashes between protesters and law enforcement for several days in downtown Los Angeles.

Monday's protests were largely calmer than Sunday's melees, which left a trail of foam bullets around

the city's center, buildings vandalized, Waymos set ablaze and many protesters injured from the munitions. Nearly two dozen businesses have been burglarized amid the unrest in recent days including one in which a suspect used a power saw to gain entry.

Assemblymember Mark González, who represents downtown, said the violence and destruction in Little Tokyo and parts of downtown was "completely unacceptable."

"Tagging historic land-

marks, launching fireworks at officers and terrorizing residents is not protest — it's destruction," he said. "If you're out here chasing clout while our neighbors are scared and storefronts are boarded up — you're not helping, you're harming. You're playing right into Trump's hands and undermining the very movement you claim to support."

As midnight approached on Monday, officers used less-lethal munitions and tear gas as they clashed with a few dozen people who remained in downtown Los Angeles. Earlier in the day, a crowd of several hundred rallied in front of the federal building.

Officers moved in the late afternoon to push the throng away from the buildings that had been the focus of Sunday's protests and steadily pushed them into Little Tokyo, with the crowd thinning with each push.

Officers were shooting flash-bangs and less-lethal munitions, while the protesters tried to erect a barrier with recycling bins. At least one car window was shattered, sending glass shards shooting into the crowd.

Law enforcement sources told The Times that authorities are analyzing dozens of videos of people throwing bricks, scooters and other heavy objects toward officers during protests. They're working with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to identify several young men who recently smashed windows at LAPD headquarters and

tossed incendiary devices inside.

On Tuesday morning, Kazumi Tsuji, who owns a business in Little Tokyo, walked around her shop and the surrounding buildings with a handful of burning sage. She passed by a scrawl of fresh graffiti spray-painted overnight.

"It's to keep away the evil spirits," she said of the sage. "I'm OK with protests, but setting fires, destroying businesses, all of that seems like people who just want to start chaos."

While her shop was not damaged, around the corner, what appeared to be masked teenagers smashed a glass door with a skateboard near Shoe Palace. Property manager Frank Chavez showed a Times reporter footage of the individuals bashing a security camera around 10:30 p.m. Despite the damage, nothing was missing from the building, he said.

"We just cleaned Little Tokyo about two weeks ago," he said. "The whole community came together and now here we are."

Nearby, a small bean bag projectile lay on the floor near a shattered store window at Cafe Dulce. A security guard, who declined to give his name, said that the bean bag was fired at protesters by police and shattered the window.

Several businesses, including the Downtown Jewelry Exchange, in the Jewelry District were broken into overnight. On Tuesday morning, tenants in the large jewelry store that houses multiple retailers in an old theater lifted up broken display cases.

"There is a lot of anxiety, frustration in downtown right now," Raz Tatanian, a jeweler who is a tenant at a nearby building, said. "These are the actions of opportunistic hoodlums who don't care about the immigrants."

Early Tuesday, foot traffic was sparse on South Broadway with several storefronts closed amid the protests. A T-Mobile store that was burglarized during the protests was boarded up with wood planks.

The El Pollo Loco on Broadway and 3rd Street has been closed for the past two days and reopened Tuesday at 9 a.m., said Britney Abila, who has been working as a cashier at the location for the past year.

"It's been very scary for my cooks especially," she said, adding that they were fearful about the raids and the resulting protests.

Times staff writers Seema Mehta, Clara Harter, Summer Lin, Rachael Uranga, Laura J. Nelson and Andrea Castillo contributed to this report.

Milita

[Marines, from A1] in Los Angeles only to fend federal property federal personnel and do have arrest power.

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President Trump said U.S. Army troops would be sent to Los Angeles Tuesday — hours after Secretary of Defense Pete Hegseth told congress lawmakers that the

California asks court to block National Guard, Marine deployments

By KEVIN RECTOR
AND LAURA J. NELSON

A federal judge will hear arguments in open court Thursday over the Trump administration's deployment of state National Guard forces and U.S. Marines to Los Angeles amid mass protests over sweeping federal immigration enforcement efforts.

California asked the court Tuesday for a temporary restraining order blocking the deployments, arguing the Trump administra-

tionary forces into an American city without the request or approval of the state governor or local officials.

California Atty. Gen. Rob Bonta, whose office is handling the litigation on behalf of Newsom and the state, said the restraining order was necessary to bring an immediate stop to the deployments, which local officials have contended are not needed and are only adding to tensions sparked by sweeping federal immigration detentions and arrests in communities with large immigrant populations.



2,000 members of the state's National Guard on Saturday after the president said L.A. was descending into chaos and federal agents were in danger. Hegseth then mobilized another 2,000 members Monday. The Pentagon approved the deployment of 700 U.S. Marines from the base in Twentynine Palms to L.A. on Monday, with the stated mission of protecting federal buildings and agents.

The Defense secretary said the deployments would last 60 days, and the acting Pentagon budget chief said the cost would be at least